1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p. 3]
[p. 2 is blank]

The People of Greece

The Legend

When God was building the earth, he lavished all goods such as water, pasture, forests, and rich soil on the countries of the world. Then suddenly he remembered that he had forgotten Greece. What could he give to this country since he had given all the riches to the others? He started stroking his beard thoughtfully. All at once an idea struck him when he saw the rainbow hanging over his head. Reaching up, he chopped a piece off, stooped and picked up a little soil and many stones, and kneaded the whole thing together in the palm of his hand. Then, opening his palm, he blew the mixture into the sea, and Greece came into being.[1]

539
773

In its symbolic meaning, the rainbow of the legend is the Greek people who are as colorful as the sun-drenched rocks on which their nation grew to greatness.

The fact that the Athenian civilization with its poets, philosophers, dramatists, and sculptors had its origin in a city of less than two hundred thousand people on the rocky Attic plain has been a source of wonder to all who know anything of ancient Greece. But today there is also a miracle of Greece at which to wonder. In our twentieth century we see a land of 51,182 square miles supporting eight million people; that is, an area the

175

[131
161]

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks? Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the rural Greeks.[2] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

The City Greek

Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take up farming.[4] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[6] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the semi-nomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[6]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Mountains

133 The legend of the rainbow in the rock does not err in speaking of Greece
[311] as a rock. Only one fourth of her area is currently or potentially of any agricultural use and lies mostly in valleys or plains near the coast, at the foot of mountainous slopes. The remaining three fourths of the land consists largely of precipitous mountains, ranging up to a height in Mount Olympus of about 9600 feet.[11] "Beautiful," says the tourist. "Unproductive," says the economic planner.

The Pindus range, reaching its way south as an extension of the Dinaric Alps from Yugoslavia, is most marked in Epirus but nevertheless extends on into Central Greece. A spine of mountains comprises the central part of the Peloponnesos; even Athens is surrounded by gentle Parnes, Hymettus, and Pentele. In Northern Greece the Rhodope Massive cuts through part of Macedonia and Thrace, while Mount Olympus rises majestically out of the Thessalian plain. This means that the rugged topography is not confined to one part of Greece but that peaks can be seen from almost any place on the mainland. Many islands, including Euboea and Crete, have their heights around which legends as well as clouds have gathered.

[137] Since there are no forests on many of the mountains, the landscape has an almost naked look when seen for the first time. But a longer stay in Greece accustoms one to the browns and grays and lavenders in place of the greens often associated with tree-clad mountains. Frequently at dusk the mountains turn to a deep rose and purple that seems magically unreal.

[132] Where there are mountains there should be water to irrigate the fields below or turn the turbines of power projects. Heavy rains and snows do fall on the summits, but since Greece is only 171 miles across at its widest part (Epirus-Thessaly), and since the mountain divide cleaves the center, there is not much space in which rivers can find a gradual slope to the sea. They thus are short and swift, with a torrential character that poses great problems of flood, silt, erosion, and river control.

134 A village priest in Epirus described the erosion of soil by saying, half-seriously, that his fields grew rocks. When asked how this could be, he replied, "I went out and plowed my field, plowing around two rocks that stood only slightly above the ground. I put in my seed; the rains came. After the first rain I noticed that the rocks had grown farther above the soil; after the second rain they had grown even more. So I knew that my fields grew rocks rather than grain."

137 Where there are mountains there should be forests. But before the war
185 Greek forests covered only about 19 percent of the total area of the country. Once they were larger in extent. Constantine Nevros, in an article
[311] in *Soil Conservation*, holds the goat primarily responsible for the destruc-
[293]
[175]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tion of the forests, but points out that even in classical times portions of Greek forests were felled to provide lumber for the construction of Athenian triremes.[12] He dates the beginning of the serious destruction of Greek forests during the Roman invasion of Macedonia, when the Greeks lost their fields in the fertile plains and took refuge in the mountains where they were forced to become stock breeders. Other writers fix the most serious destruction at the time of the Greek war of independence, beginning in 1821, when large tracts of forest were burned. This form of devastation has continued ever since, either to clear land for cultivation or to encourage the growth of young palatable shoots which are attractive to stock. An example of what warfare can do is the cutting down of the trees on Mount Parnes, near Athens, and other places during World War II by the Germans pursuing guerrillas and by Athenians in need of fuel.

The remaining land area of Greece which is not arable and not in forest, certainly over 50 percent, is either in scrub oak or is open rocky range, a fact which makes sheep and goat raising an important branch of the economy.

Where there are mountains there should be useful minerals. Greece does have a variety of mineral deposits, including some iron ore of high content, iron pyrites, emery, copper, zinc, lead magnesite, chromite, and lignite. An American company is now exploiting a fairly large deposit of asbestos south of Kozane. There is no coal, but much more extensive use could be made of the "brown coal," or lignite, to reduce or eliminate the heavy import of coal. Even if the resources listed here, as well as others not touched upon, were fully utilized, Greece would still compare unfavorably with most other countries.

These barren, colorful mountains modify the climate.[13] We often tend to think of Greece as having a Mediterranean climate, mindful of its similarity to Florida or California. Actually, what is called a Mediterranean climate — a hot, dry, cloudless summer, frequent north winds, and a mild, rainy, cloudy winter — prevails over only a small portion of Greece, such as the eastern coast of the Peloponnesos, Central Greece and Euboea, Crete and the Aegean Islands. The map of rainfall shows this clearly. On the western side of the Peloponnesos there is a modified Mediterranean climate with much heavier rainfall. Much of Greece, however, has a modified Continental climate with cold winters and hot, usually dry, summers. These conditions of extreme alternations in Thessaly, Central and Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace favor the growing of cereals. The dry areas of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, with soils low in humus, are centers for the growing of the small-leaved Oriental or Turkish tobacco.

What is surprising is the prevalence of an Alpine climate, due to the high altitudes, throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the

Peloponnesos.[1] Many villages are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages.

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks.

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea.

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun.

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains.

Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

dweller can seldom appreciate. Many a villager may curse the land or bless it, as the seafarer does the sea, but he does it as though he were speaking of a part of his own body. In this he resembles his forebears of three thousand years ago. Legally, however, land ownership in Greece has gone a full cycle in the past three millenniums.[6]

A good vantage point from which to view this cycle of land ownership is Attica, the area around Athens. The average tourist to Greece speeds down the road from Athens on his way through the Attic countryside to Sounion, where Poseidon's temple overlooks the sea; or he drives a few miles north to Marathon to climb the memorial mound; he moves through Attica for forty or fifty miles on his way to Megara and Corinth, ancient places to be seen and photographed. On all of these trips he will see peasants everywhere. In the spring and summer they are bringing loads of vegetables — carrots, tomatoes, squash — into the city; in the fall they are taking grapes from the vineyards to be pressed by foot in the large wooden vats or, as winter comes, carrying the dead branches of the vines home to burn in their small, cold houses. Their slow-moving animals delay the tourist bus, their sheep respond erratically to the auto horn, but the peasants themselves seem unconcerned about the traffic. And the land, the dusty countryside, dotted with the gray-green olive groves, and the dark points of the cypress, surrounded by heights incredibly changing from silver to rose to violet and purple in the dusk, must look very much the same as it did when travelers or Athenians described it long ago.

In the sixth century B.C. most of the soil of Attica was in the hands of individual proprietors. It was "cultivated, as far as it was cultivable at all, by peasant proprietors, who appear to have been, if not prosperous, at least independent and contented until the devastation of Attica in the Peloponnesian War brought with it widespread unsettlement and ruin and inaugurated a period of hardship and struggle for the rural population."[7] Today peasant proprietors again work their own land, independent and moderately content, on the Attic plain and up the rocky slopes where crops, vineyards or olive trees can be made to grow.

The story of what happened between the Golden Age's peasant proprietors and the return of the land to peasant owners in the Atomic Age not only reveals much about the past of Greece but helps explain the contemporary peasant's concern for land.[8] The individual property holder, sometimes medium and sometimes small, persisted, although with difficulty, from classic times down to the Byzantine period. Then some villages, called *kephalochoria,* did manage even under Byzantium to preserve the private peasant holdings, and many more settlements possessed communal property to serve the needs of the commune. But most of the individual holdings yielded to the large estate which belonged to the crown, the nobles, or the clergy.[9] After the end of Byzantium in 1453, the Turkish

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

175 423 authorities continued the existing forms of land ownership as long as they controlled Attica and the rest of Greece.

There were, for four centuries, four ways in which agricultural and forest land was held during the Turkish occupation. First of all, much land (the old Byzantine estates) belonged to the Turkish state; that is, it was the property of the Sultan who owned it by right of sovereignty. He could not give it away irrevocably, but he could award it as grants to Turks or to Christians adopting Islam. Such grants included the fiefs (or estates called *tsiflikia* in Turkish) over which the new owners had all property rights. These holdings were found chiefly in the richest parts of Attica.[10]

A second form of property in land was that owned by the communes, which had full property rights. The Turkish occupation, for reasons of general policy, preserved the communes existing prior to the occupation together with their administrative institutions. Also, every city, town, and village preserved its magistrates who, elected for the most part by the Christians, were called *demogerontes* (village elders). The occupying Turks also respected the communal property reserved for the needs of the commune (pastures, woodlots), which was administered by the demogerontes. As the later description of local government will show, these elders, in addition, had the right to impose taxes, enforce civil law, exercise police and other powers, with the result that they became the natural protectors and councilors of every inhabitant in the commune. This institution of demogerontes was the incentive which maintained and helped develop national sentiment during the years of occupation, and it was found in those communes which had been *kephalochoria* (head or independent villages) in the Byzantine period.

A third form of landed property was that owned individually by the inhabitants of these kephalochoria, the villages which had the communal land mentioned above. These were settlements usually in the mountain or hill regions. Because their poor or mediocre soil was of little economic interest to the Turks, and because of their inaccessible location, they were not completely subjected economically. They preserved the regime of small holdings: either small holdings already existing in Byzantine times or those which their inhabitants had begun to acquire around the places where they lived, some by purchase of the right of limited tenure, some by grant on the part of landlords. These small holdings frequently were planted with olive trees, vineyards, and fruit trees, as they had been for generations.

The fourth form of property was that which belonged to monasteries and to religious foundations. The Turks, under the system of the Waqf, deeded land to mosques or hospitals in keeping with Koranic law in much the same way as Christians had given land to monasteries in the Byzantine era. In this way, large estates came into being under the control of these

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

religious and philanthropic foundations, reinforcing the system of large rural estates in private hands. The convents of Pentele and Petraki in Attica became very rich as the result of gifts and bequests from Christians who did not want their land to pass into the hands of the Turks.

These four forms of land ownership began to change in the nineteenth century with the coming of Greek independence and the Treaty of Constantinople in 1832, setting the boundaries between Greece and Turkey. While the communal land and the peasant holdings of the kephalochoria remained much as before, as did the monastery properties, the great estates of the beys changed hands, going to Greeks with the departure of their Turkish owners from Greece. They remained intact, worked by tenants under Greek landlords for another century — the peasants were legally landless. The land reform legislation of 1917 changed the last two forms by expropriating large estates and turning back the land once again to private cultivators. The cycle of land ownership in Attica was complete. As P. J. Iliopoulos has put it in his excellent study of Attica:

> This audacious agrarian policy of expropriation, which allowed in general each proprietor to keep only 30 hectares of cultivable land, has permitted landless inhabitants of Attica to become owners. This right was acquired on condition of complete payment of the value of the plots acquired and with the obligation of cultivation under penalty of forfeiture. The total amount of land alienated amounted to about 17,000 hectares.[11]

When one realizes that the total cropland of Attica was 33,000 hectares, this 17,000 hectares becomes a very significant figure. By 1948 the croplands of Attica totaled 63,640 hectares, with 36,249 hectares in cereals and the rest in other crops.

The fact that the peasant in Attica now owns his land has much to do with the increased interest which he takes in its improvement. As one would expect, working the land around Athens, though still performed in part according to ancient methods, is moving more and more into the commercialized sphere. There are now, for instance, modern poultry houses with large flocks which are the pride of the men, who formerly would not do the "woman's work" with chickens; truck farming is increasing, greatly dependent upon water now available for irrigation. There is a definite shift from olives to vineyards, since a vine matures in three to five years, whereas an olive tree will not bear for twelve years and does not reach full maturity until twenty years.

On the farm, which is now his own, the peasant is also adding to his plantation of fruit trees and vines, for the strong insolation and clear sky of Attica make them produce well. His venturing into dairying, dependent upon forage crops and vegetables, will be limited to the irrigation he can manage. The chances are, however, that cereals will continue to be the

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe.

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community.

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis.

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots.

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school.

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

differ linguistically. Part of the lure of this Epirus trip was learning more about these people and their way of life.

I had already seen their rounded branch and reed huts, surrounded by wattled sheepfolds, put up either in some isolated, sheltered spot or at the edge of some village I was visiting. Although in Greece they do not number more than ten to twelve thousand families, they stand out picturesquely wherever they are. The men are dressed in tight-fitting black felt trousers and a black waistcoat and usually carry a black hip-length cape slung over their shoulder. They wear a round brimless lambskin cap (*kalpaki*). Many of the nomad women, in contrast to most of the Greek peasant women who now wear variations of Western dress, still keep to their heavy pleated homespun skirts, thick wool stockings, and wide leather belt.

Even such generalizations on dwelling and clothing are dangerous, for there are different nomadic groups. From many conversations with the nomads themselves as well as with others familiar with them, I was able to draw up tentative distinctions. On the basis of language, one can easily divide them into three groups. There are Koutso-Vlachs (the Lame Vlachs) who speak a Latin tongue in the home, although most of them, particularly the men, know Greek; the Arvanito-Vlachs (also called Karagouni because of the black cape they wear) who speak Albanian among themselves, although they still understand the Latin language of the Koutso-Vlachs from whom they derive; and the Sarakatsani, said not to be Vlach at all, who speak Greek as their only language. Many informants told me that the Sarakatsani were among the "purest Greeks" because they had practiced endogamy.

Another way of dividing the nomads is on the basis of type of settlement. The Karagouni and the Sarakatsani are called Skenites (literally, "tent dwellers"), for they do not usually have permanent homes either at their summer or their winter encampment. They build their reed huts anew each year or patch up those that remain usable from the previous year. The Koutso-Vlachs as well as the Greek peasants who practice transhumance (like those of Valtetsi) usually have a permanent village which they call home. In some interviews I found that the Koutso-Vlachs considered their winter home as the permanent settlement and the summer pastures the encampment; but most evidence seemed to indicate the reverse to be true.

The origin of these Koutso-Vlachs is one of the great ethnic puzzles of the Balkans, for their Latin tongue, although greatly corrupted by words from other Balkan languages, follows the four conjugations of ancient Latin. As in most riddles of this sort, nationalistic interests have led to several extravagant claims. Some of the modern Rumanians, chiefly in the old provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, looked to the south across Bulgaria and what is now Yugoslavia to claim these Romance-language shepherds as long lost brothers to be reunited with the "homeland." They advanced

1:Sanders Z-5)4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

these views during the last century and the early part of this century, when the struggle for independence was reverberating through Epirus, Macedonia, and other areas frequented by these nomads.

A detached assessment of the situation, and yet one without much tangible evidence to support it, would place these Wallachians as descended from Balkanites of Roman times, who were Latinized by colonists, army garrisons, or some other continued type of association. When the Slavs came pushing into the Balkans during the sixth century, the Wallachians retreated to the mountain areas and continued (or took up) sheep raising and remained relatively unmolested. Since they could not wrest an adequate living from their barren surroundings, many of the men found it necessary to migrate elsewhere for work. Some were gone many years, and some would go away for only part of the year, but almost all of them learned some trade, becoming important as builders and artisans all over the Balkans. Of even greater importance was their role as caravan owners and drivers. They raised not only sheep but many horses which they concentrated at certain points such as Thessalonike, loaded them with merchandise, and conveyed the goods through well-defined routes to Vienna or down to the Adriatic. Considerable wealth was amassed in this way. Some of their settlements two hundred years ago — for example, Moschopolis in present-day Albania — were centers of culture and wealth. With the coming of railroads, their caravans were no longer so necessary; and with the growing unrest in the Balkans during the past hundred years, free passage from one country to another was increasingly difficult. Although the various treaties following the Balkan wars and World War I provided for the free movement of these nomads from one country to another, particularly with their flocks, the borders had in effect been closed to them even before the start of World War II.

This, in a brief and general way, is the background of these Vlach nomads. In the days under the Turks, early in the century, when Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece were claiming large chunks of Macedonia, each tried to make a case for large groupings of its own people. The Vlachs, chiefly Greek Orthodox in religion and with a knowledge of Greek as well as their own Romance language, were claimed by the Greeks as their own. Many Vlachs agreed with this, despite the appeals made by Rumanians to the contrary.

My chief contacts with the Koutso-Vlachs during 1953 were in Metsovo, one of their most celebrated villages, and along the roads of Greece. On the road between Arta and Ioannina, for example, one bold young shepherd girl named Maria, seeing women (my wife and the interpreter) in the car with me, asked for a ride. She was Koutso-Vlach and was on a nine-day trip back to the summer village in the mountains which she considered her permanent home. We passed some of her companions leading

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

vote, it is in sullen protest and not because of any wildly enthusiastic support for some new leaders seeking the reins of government. He does not think of government in abstract terms; he feels more comfortable talking about specific persons and events. He will know, for instance, that his country is a monarchy and that King Paul and Queen Frederika visited his village last year and drank coffee with the community president and that the queen went into one of his neighbor's homes to see how the housewife was weaving a particular pattern; he will know that there is such a thing as a national parliament, for his wife's second cousin, a representative there, regales them on occasional visits with all the smart things he does when he is in Athens.

Or, as happened in Phokia, a coastal village between Athens and Sounion, the community president interrupted our conversation on a cool September evening (in 1959) to show us pictures taken of himself with the shipping magnate, Onassis, and the Greek premier, Konstandinos Karamanlis. The former had anchored his luxury yacht off the shore near Phokia a few months previously and had invited the premier to come to Phokia, from which a small launch would take him out to the yacht for dinner. True to tradition, these personages received the greetings of the community president, posed for their photographs with him in a village taverna, and listened to his requests for funds to extend the village dock out to deeper water.

I often wondered whether the Greek villager was as interested in politics as the Athenian thought that he was, for I found many villagers almost totally ignorant of governmental affairs, a fact which could be duplicated among the least educated in almost every country. Indeed, many people who knew village life well said that the peasants were much more interested in talking about agriculture than national politics.

Greek Traditions of Local Government

The strongest governmental tradition in rural Greece is that of government by elders, who represent the accumulated wisdom and authority of the village. One would expect this in a family-centered society, but, in the case of Greece, it has been further reinforced by historical developments.

These influences are primarily Byzantine in character. True enough, one can go back to the city-state, or *polis*, of the ancient Greeks and show how even the settlements outside the fortified town, which were a part of the polis, had their representatives on its central council and played their part in raising military and financial levies in case of war; or one can trace the decline of the polis under Macedonian and Roman rule between 350 B.C. and 330 A.D. and assume that many of its earlier functions must have persisted. But it is not until the flowering of Byzantium that a transformation of local government took place. As Harold F. Alderfer has stated:

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

175 623 642 Instead of being organized on the basis of individuals living in a geographic area, which was the classical mode, the community became a body of believers united by a common purpose. . . . Within this framework, new concepts of local government grew. One was the council as a vehicle for the consensus of the community as a whole. Another was the assembly of all members of the Christian community to give assent. Still another was the leadership of clerical authorities in local government and community activity. These ideas are indigenous to Byzantine culture and they are a part, even if not immediately visible, of present-day local government in Greece.[1]

With the fall of Byzantium in 1453, the Greeks came under Turkish rule. But the Muslim masters worked through already existing institutions, and Mohammed II went so far as to recognize the Patriarch of Constantinople as the political leader of the Greek nation. In the provinces, the metropolitan bishops, and priests exercised the rights given to the Patriarch, and his executors, through the *euphoria* (supervising committee) or the *demogerontia* (group of village elders). These village elders collected taxes from their compatriots, rendered justice when differences arose between Orthodox Christians, and settled any disputes which contesting parties referred to them. Basic to this self-government was the idea of the autonomous community, which centered around the elders selected by popular vote. These elders (*demogerontes*), in turn, selected "first elders" (*protogeri*), who administered the provinces and conferred with the monarch's counsellor in the provincial capital about the amount of taxes to be collected for that province, while each demogerontia tried to specify the share of each larger village, as well as the personal contribution of each individual taxpayer within a village.[2]

175 623 In addition to tax assessment and collection, the elders had many other important functions: they divided the uncultivated land or fields or any other land remaining without heirs, regulated the flow of waters, determined the rights of inheritance, handled the community's funds, and supervised the payments made by Christians to be relieved of military duty and the serving of court papers. Since the tax function remained paramount, the local authorities brought pressure to bear upon their compatriots, by advice or scolding, to pay what was due and to avoid any mishaps with the Turks. These leaders, because they supervised the tax collection, also had local funds to use at their discretion for the community. As Koukkidi says: "The great strength of the Greeks was the continuity of communal life. The community to them was a small democracy which organized its life and shaped itself."[3]

175 623 642 With the liberation of Southern and Central Greece, and the ascent to the throne of King Otho, the governmental patterns of Western Europe were imposed upon the traditional councils of elders. But this came at a time when, with the exception of the loyalty to the Patriarch, there was no

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

governmental structure which tied together these separated local governments into any larger whole. Thus, as Greece moved toward modern nationhood, the type of local government which had existed under the Ottoman Empire began to wither.

One Athenian professor said to me that after ten years of revolution (1821–1830) the people wanted a king who could end anarchy and bring order. They had to accept a centralized government and put up with laws not natural to the country but which were necessary if Greece were to appear "civilized" enough to get loans from abroad. "We still need a legal system agreeing better with our country," he concluded. This is one reason, he thinks, why the peasant tries to get around the laws; he does not look upon them as his laws, as Greek laws.

During the first forty years of this century, the greatest changes in community life occurred under Venizelos in 1912 and under Metaxas in 1935. Venizelos, for instance, refashioned the old demes, or local units consisting of several villages, and made each village a unit responsible for supporting many local services under a community council and president. The deme still had the taxing, police, and judicial powers. The central government attempted to supply teachers for communities, a step which meant much less local autonomy but which was essential if Greece were to have a uniform system of education. Many other activities which local governmental bodies had handled up to this time had to be approved by the nomarch (administrator of the nomos) and ministry. Even the Constitution of 1927, though leaving to local government matters managed directly by the citizens, left the definition of "local matters" so vague that the demes and communes were at the mercy of the legislators and ministries who, by law and decree, could "outline their powers, procedures, and revenues." [4]

Metaxas, after abrogating the Constitution of 1927, imposed on the total Greek population "modern" methods of hygiene, childrearing, and education. He even attempted to introduce early weaning and the use of bottles. In community affairs, local elections were abolished and local officials could be dismissed and replaced by the Minister of the Interior.

Today, according to one authority:

> The local government units in Greece are demes and communes. There are 217 demes and 5,746 communes. Demes, under the 1912 law, were those units with 10,000 or more population; but recent amendments allowed so many exceptions that there are now 144 below this minimum standard. Communes are supposed to have 300 or more people and an elementary school; but this standard was also relaxed so that now there are many below this figure. As a matter of fact, half of the communes today have less than five hundred inhabitants.[5]

Since such small population centers cannot support all of the expected services, some kind of amalgamation of units is thought desirable. But how

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

875 tives, and financial matters. "But a really pernicious element in the village,
871 today," said the director, going back to an earlier theme, "is the half-
educated person, who sits in the coffeehouse, reads the newspapers, and
[554] gives his half-baked ideas. He thereby undermines the influence of the
teacher." Nevertheless, many dedicated teachers exert tremendous influ-
[242] ence despite all the handicaps they face. He mentioned the case of the teacher in Phlorina (western Macedonia), a Greek refugee from Russia, who in the late 1920s planted with the children in the school garden the first apple trees, destined to become the basis of the extensive orchards now in that area. The teacher persuaded the villagers to take slips from these trees for planting. But not all teachers show this initiative. "We fail to teach the teachers how to teach the children how to behave and meet the various problems as they arise." The fault does not lie with the children, since they have an incredible thirst for learning: "To the child, the school is cherished," he concluded.

871 It was always easy to get people not only to compare education in the
184 past with the present but also to get discussions of the regional differences in emphasis upon education. In a Macedonian village I once listened to a
[231] long discussion with a local official and an outsider, originally from Southern Greece, who had brought a truckload of beehives from Chalkidike to pasture on the special variety of blossoms there. The beekeeper asserted: "The standard of living in the Peloponnesos is higher than here in Northern Greece. In my village there has been for many years a gymnasium, and you won't find anyone who hasn't gone to school, while here you don't find people with the same interest. That is why the standard of living is higher in the Peloponnesos."

[175] But the Macedonian would not accept such a comparison without a verbal challenge: "You forget that you got liberated almost one hundred years before we did. We had five hundred years of Turkish rule over our heads; it is not true that we don't want our children to get a better education. For instance, in my village of Balta we have a semigymnasium where there are 365 students. The state wants to close that school, and we said that if they did this we would be obliged to send our children to a distant
[875] gymnasium. We have eight teachers in that school; four are paid by the state, but we local people give them a supplement since their salary is not sufficient; the other four teachers are paid entirely by the parents. In the first three grades each pupil pays $3 per month and in the next three grades $4 per month. This shows we value education. Everything goes for Southern Greece; we are neglected here."

875 Here, at least, was one indication that the teacher was much appreciated. But throughout my village visits I also found those who were impatient with the teachers. One Greek official, who knows many parts of his country

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

So the bishop arranged for nuns at a convent on the edge of town to teach some of the girls to spin and weave silk. For two hundred years the nuns of this convent have been leaders in the silk industry. In 1770, under the Turks, the nuns with their abbess were exiled to Constantinople, went to Broussa, and learned the manipulation of silk. Later, when they were able to come back to Kalamata, they brought with them the silkworm eggs and started the silk industry. Many local girls come to the convent to learn how to carry on silkworm production and weaving on a simple loom at home. So, the bishop thought, these same nuns would be able to teach these orphan girls the silk industry, and many other things as well. When we visited the convent, eighteen girls were living there, but buildings were nearing completion which would accommodate up to fifty girls. Queen Frederika had come to help dedicate the cornerstones. But the nuns were anxious to show us where they produced the fine silk cloth we had been admiring. It was a strange experience to go with the nuns into the big room full of textile machines and to see the dexterity with which these women clad in medieval garments managed the complex machinery, even to the point of making many mechanical repairs.

One institution which the bishop showed us with evident pride was a tuberculosis sanatorium. To reach it we had to ride from his palace through the town to a mountain a few miles distant. We could not help notice the people's affection for the bishop: men, upon seeing him, would take off their hats and women would cross themselves. Some of this, we knew, was done because he was a bishop and thus due a certain amount of reverence, but the expression of warmth on the faces of the people indicated their genuine appreciation of what the bishop was doing for them.

When we arrived at the sanatorium, the bishop explained: "Why should a few old monks have such a beautiful site to live in when tuberculosis was proving such a scourge to so many people? I told the monks they could go pray somewhere else and that we would make this into a sanatorium." Of course, the bishop admitted that he was oversimplifying the problem a bit, for even the Greek Orthodox Church has its red tape. In any event, he had succeeded in getting about twenty patients out into this healthful spot under proper care. One of the first things he did upon our arrival was to go check the menu posted in the kitchen, for he takes a personal interest in what is being served to the patients.

While at the sanatorium we noticed a number of donkeys tied outside and many peasant men and women sitting at the door of the little church dedicated to St. Elijah. We learned that many of these peasants had come quite far on this Sunday and had brought gifts of food and oil to the sanatorium as *psychiko*, a word which comes from Byzantine times and means property donated to monasteries or churches by pious pilgrims for the salvation of their souls. These peasants proved a lighthearted group, probably

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 "Oikismos-astyphilia" (Housing and Urbanism), *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia* (Large Greek Encyclopaedia), X (Athens, 1934), 412–413; and Angelike Chatzemichale, "Architektonike" (Architecture), *ibid.*, pp. 826–827. See also G. A. Megas, *The Greek House. Its Evolution and its Relation to the Houses of Other Balkan Peoples* (Athens, 1951).

12. Papaspyropoulos, "Folklore of Kleitoria."

13. Megas, *The Greek House*, pp. 6, 8.

Chapter IV. Land as a Birthright

1. Figures for size of farm are taken from *Statistical Summary of Greece, 1954*. These figures differ somewhat from those quoted in *Greece Today* (August 1954), which is published monthly by the National Bank of Greece and Athens. The latter places 27 percent of the farms at less than 2.5 acres and 57.5 percent between 2.5 and 12.5 acres. See also *Labour Problems in Greece: Report of the Mission of the International Labour Office to Greece*, Oct.–Nov. 1947 (Geneva, 1949).

[776] 2. Anyone familiar with Greek mythology will find it tempting to try to link the peasant's present attachment to his land with the folk beliefs about "the mistress of the world," which J. C. Lawson, in his *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910), links with Demeter or Kore, or both. "She is a real person, not the personification of any natural force. The tiller of the land foresees his yearly gain from cornfield and vineyard; the shepherd on the mountainside expects the yearly increase of his flock; but by neither is any principle inferred therefrom, much less is such a principle personified; the blessing which rests on field and fold is the work of a living goddess' hand" (p. 89). Even more to the point may be the early belief in the earth as the mother because she is the fruit bearer. See J. E. Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Eng., 1912), pp. 166–167.

Conceivably, these cultural survivals could explain part of the hold on many peasants of the belief that land is sacred, that it should be kept as a family heritage, that it is the source of life's security; but this would not help us understand the regional variations in Greece today or the differing points of view between the older and younger generations within the same region. Obviously, economic considerations are greatly altering the picture.

[186] 3. Another point needing further study in the Greek villages is the degree to which the seeming attachment to the soil is really that or, instead, a strong sense of localism, an attachment to a *place*. The travelers for generations through Greece have commented on this localism, which found its early expression in the city-state as opposed to an over-all *imperium*. It is possible that with many Greek peasants this localistic spirit, such as that noted for Epirus, is based on psychological attachments to things and persons quite apart from the soil.

4. See Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23.

[245] [185] [583] 5. Bruce Lansdale reminded me that the farmer who puts in a vineyard is probably thinking in terms of his children more than himself and that the man who puts in an olive tree is probably thinking in terms of his grandchildren. In certain areas of Greece it is customary to plant a tree for the dowry of the daughter. There are also differences in attitudes toward land between the native peasant and the refugee from Asia Minor, for many refugees do not yet have the actual deed to their land.

[175] 6. What happened in Epirus under the Turks must have occurred in many parts of Greece. When the Turks first overran Epirus, the villages were independent, but the Turkish government placed a Turkish military protector in charge of a locality. This official said: "In order for us to keep you secure, you have to pay 10 percent in kind." Then it rose to 15, 20, and even up to 33 percent. When the peasants could not pay these high taxes, the officials took over the land and became large land-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

owners, even having the power to keep the peasants off the land they formerly owned. In Epirus, land redistribution in the 1920s involved finding out who the former Greek owners had been or still were, once the land had been appropriated from the Turks with an indemnity payment. In Thessaly, however, there were no former Greek peasant owners to locate, so the large Turkish-owned estates were merely redistributed to peasants who had worked them as hired workers or tenants.

7. The quotation about the sixth century B.C. comes from *The Cambridge Ancient History*, V, 12.

8. Most of the information on which the description of land tenure in Attica is based comes from P. J. Iliopoulos, *L'Attique au point de vue physique et économique* (Athens, 1951).

9. For a discussion of agrarian conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages, see the chapter by that title in *The Cambridge Economic History*, I.

10. See K. D. Karavidas, *Agrotika* (Athens, 1931), whose sections on the *tsiflikia* and *kephalochoria* proved particularly helpful in an effort to gain a proper background. In a private conversation, Mr. Karavidas pointed out that some acute problems arose when the tsiflikia were broken up and distributed to the former tenants. Under the landlord, the workers were forced to keep irrigation ditches clear, but when redistribution occurred in 1923 nobody worried about the maintenance of such ditches. Trees fell into them and they became stopped up.

11. *L'Attique*, p. 115.

12. One of the best short descriptions of land ownership in Greece is an article by that title in *Foreign Agriculture*, August 1950. The article is adapted from the book by A. Varvaressos, *The Fulfilment of the Agrarian Reform* (Athens, 1949). Another useful account of land reform in Greece is found in W. E. Moore, *Economic Demography of Eastern and Southern Europe*, appendix 3. D. K. Wogasli wrote extensively on questions of land reform, publishing in 1919 a work entitled *La Solution de la question agraire en Grèce* (Athens, 1919). He also wrote a work in Greek on the agrarian question in Thessaly and especially in the prefecture of Trikkala.

It is interesting to contrast Thessaly of today with that described by Leon Heuzey, *Excursion dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858*. Of the village of Vloko, he writes: "Là, je me renseigne comme à l'ordinaire, sur la condition des paysans. Le propriétaire, Hassan-bey, les déplace à sa volonté, bien que lui-même, à l'heure actuelle, tienne un homme en prison pour avoir cherché à quitter son tchiflik. Malgré les nouvelles lois, le régime de la glèbe existe encore, mais ce n'est pas toujours dans les conditions d'équité qui pourraient le rendre tolerable pour le cultivateur" (p. 76).

13. A common practice on the part of a landlord was to transfer title to various parts of the estate to close relatives, who permitted him to continue to operate the farm as one unit.

14. The Agricultural Section of the United States Mission to Greece and officials of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture have given much study to the problem of consolidation of scattered strips. The great amount of time required for surveying even one village for this purpose is hard to believe. At least twenty villages have been surveyed by Dr. Kypriades and attractive picture displays prepared to show what can be done when consolidation is carried out.

15. For more on the domka system, see O. S. Morgan, ed., *Agricultural Systems of Middle Europe* (New York, 1933), chapter by Georges Servakis and C. Pertountzi entitled "The Agricultural Policy of Greece." On the problem of scattered strips, see the *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1947), in which Recommendation 71 deals with consolidation and land redistribution.

16. UNRRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement: A Study of Marginal Land Farming in Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 9.

17. Frederick Strong, *Greece as a Kingdom* (London, 1842), pp. 163–164. But in 1914 Lucy M. J. Garnett, in *Greece of the Hellenes* (London, 1914), wrote as follows: "It is . . . foreign emigration that is robbing Hellas of her hardy peasantry, and this constitutes one of the most serious problems with which the Hellenic Gov-

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

788 What, on the other hand, is very common is for the laity to repeat,
796 almost inaudibly, the words of the prayers and hymns of the liturgy
533 as they are chanted by the singers. Not only is this practice very widespread among Greek Christians, it is also officially encouraged, while from very early times only the canonically appointed *psaltai* have been allowed to sing aloud in church. Thus, in a modern Greek catechism, the question:

"Does not the whole of the *laos* take part in public worship?" receives the following answer:

"Yes, it does and should take part; not only by standing reverently and following in spirit what is being done, but also by joining in and softly singing . . . thus to show that it is a lively member of the body of the Church."

In other words, the excellent practice commonly known to the western world as 'praying the mass' is one with which the ordinary
[782] Greek Christian is thoroughly familiar. He has never been accustomed to occupy the long hours that he spends in church with 'private' devotions—indeed the expression would be unintelligible to him. It is not only "pious Russians of the middle classes" who (in the words of John Mason Neale) "feel a repugnance to use any devotions but those of the Church".

It is necessary, moreover, to bear in mind that the separation between the Greek *psaltai* and the whole body of the faithful is much less marked than in western Christendom, with its surpliced choirs. The singers are quite plainly members of the congregation: the spokesmen of the
[292] whole body of the *laos* amongst whom they stand. They normally wear
[369] lay dress; only in an urban parish church will one normally see an *anagnostes*, or reader, wearing a simple black gown. The ordinary singers are indistinguishable from the rest of the people. Indeed, one of the
788 things which commonly strikes the visitor to Greece who finds his way
796 for the first time to a parish church is the unexpectedly prominent (some would say obtrusive) part played by the laity in the church services. Very often long stretches of incomprehensible offices seem to be conducted entirely by laymen; the parish priest only occasionally emerging from the sanctuary, and disappearing as quickly after a brief *ekphonesis*, to leave matters wholly in the hands of two middle-aged gentlemen in double-breasted suits, supported by a nondescript collection of young men and boys.

This, to the western mind, curiously prominent liturgical rôle of the lay-singers has occasioned comment in other ages than our own. On the
● [175] feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the year of our Lord 1400, King Henry IV rode out to Blackheath at the head of an imposing array, to

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

welcome to his dominions the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus with a following which included several Greek ecclesiastics, both bishops and priests.[1] These unwonted guests remained in London until the end of February following. The Greek services were celebrated daily, many English churchmen being present, and several contemporary accounts of the impression created by these unfamiliar rites have been preserved. More than one chronicler notes with surprise that laymen as well as clerks took an active part in the services which, to quote Adam of Usk, "were joined in as well by soldiers as by priests; for they chanted them without distinction in their native tongue".

One last word in connexion with the liturgy of the laity. A contemporary of King Henry IV relates that the Emperor's chaplains were catechised by certain English churchmen who had been present at the Greeks' services as to whether "the common people and the ignorant in their country did indeed understand the scriptures and the divine words which they recited together with the learned." Is the 'old school-Greek' whereof Covel and others speak, sufficiently understanded of the people?

Let us hear another voice from the fifteenth century: "The Grekis", says John Purvey, "wiche ben nobel men, han al this in ther owne langage. But yet adversaries of trewith seien, wane men rehersen that Grekis . . . han al in ther owne langage, the clerkis of hem speiken grammaticalliche and the puple understondith it not."

It should be remarked that the Orthodox Church has never opposed the translation of the scriptures or the liturgy into new tongues when such translation has been necessary for the furtherance of her missionary and pastoral work. On the contrary, the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is probably celebrated in more languages than any other of the historic rites of Christendom. I have myself been present at celebrations at which old Slavonic, Greek, English, French and Arabic have all been used during the course of the liturgy, and W. J. Birkbeck mentions a committee he encountered at St. Petersburg in 1889 which was engaged in translating the liturgy for a small tribe in the north-east of Siberia, numbering less than 5,000 souls and whose language contained scarcely

[1] The story of this Byzantine Emperor's fruitless expedition to the west in quest of military aid against the Turk, and of his sojourn in Paris and London—one of the most diverting episodes in fifteenth-century history—is related in some detail in Schlumberger's *Byzance et Croisades* (Paris, 1927), pp. 87-147: "Un Empereur de Byzance à Paris et à Londres."

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

these strange rocks for the peculiar benefit of the communities of stylites who, in the fulness of time, were to build their chapels and hermitages upon their barren summits. Assuredly, there are few places on earth so admirably fitted to serve as a refuge for those who are called to the solitary life and to the labour of the angels as this rocky wilderness above Kalambaka.

The early history of the monasteries is lost in obscurity. We cannot say at what period the first solitaries found their way to this remote corner of Thessaly. It seems clear, however, that certainly before the end of the thirteenth century, and perhaps considerably earlier, there were many hermits scattered about this wild region. *Staghi* (as Kalambaka, the ancient Aeginion, was known in the Middle Ages), seems to be a contraction of *eis tous aghious*—the name is still preserved in the official title of the Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi. It may have been many years before the unorganised eremitical life crystallised into anything in the nature of regular communities. Many of the monasteries trace their origins to the troubled epoch during the latter part of the fourteenth century when the Emperor of the Serbs carried on an intermittent campaign against the successors of Constantine from his base at Trikkala, a few miles further down the valley of the Peneios, and the desert of the solitaries was invaded by armed bands and by men whose warfare was not with principalities and powers. The hermits took refuge among the high rocks. How they first succeeded in establishing themselves on some of the apparently unscalable heights which are now surmounted by the crumbling ruins of their cells is one of the unfathomed mysteries of monastic history—though there are explanations to be heard in the mountain villages of Pindos.

Between 1356 and 1372 there came to Staghi a monk trained in the great coenobia of Mount Athos, Athanasius by name, who founded on the summit of the Platys Lithos—the vast mass of rock which towers to a height of more than 1,800 feet to the north of Kastraki—the monastery dedicated in honour of the Transfiguration of our Lord and Saviour which has ever since been known as the Great Meteoron. As darkness descended upon the glories of New Rome, and the church of the Holy Wisdom—"the most fayr Chirche and the most noble of alle the world"—fell into the hands of the infidel, the desert blossomed and a flourishing group of monasteries sprang up among the barren rocks. The Great Meteoron prospered and served as a model for other foundations, thanks to the wisdom of its founder and to the benefactions of

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

THE WATERS OF MARAH

the wife of the Despot of Ioannina, whose brother, Ioasaph, had come to Staghi as a postulant in 1388. By the sixteenth century there would seem to have been as many as twenty-four communities scattered about the rocks.

The convent of St. Stephen, built on the site of a hermitage founded in 1312, lies on the farther side of a chasm spanned by a drawbridge. In order to gain access to most of the monasteries, however, it was necessary to be hoisted in a net lowered from the gate-house of the monastery (commonly situated some 150 feet above the farthest point to which the traveller could attain by his own unaided efforts), or to clamber up ladders somewhat imperfectly secured by long wooden pegs to the face of the precipice. Travellers' accounts abound in references to the perils of either means of ascent: to frayed ropes which were replaced only after a catastrophe had actually occurred, and to the horrors of ladders hung perpendicularly upon the face of the cliff, below which, as Curzon relates: "the precipice went sheer down to so tremendous a depth, that my head turned when I surveyed the distant valley over which I was hanging in the air like a fly on a wall." It was not until 1925 that, as the result of the construction of some rough tunnels and steps, it became possible to reach the four monasteries then inhabited without considerable hazard to life and limb. The alterations then effected are bitterly lamented by the present *Igoumenos* of the Great Meteoron, the Archimandrite Callinicos, as a misguided concession to episcopal infirmity on the part of his predecessor. It seemed very doubtful, however, whether the combined energies of the few remaining monks would suffice to operate their ancient windlass at all effectively. Curzon (who visited the Meteora in 1834) speaks of the ten or twelve monks at Aghia Trias who pulled him up to their monastery with a rope thirty-two fathoms long, and of the like number of reverend stevedores who assembled at the bars of the capstan at St. Barlaam, and whose efforts had the somewhat disconcerting effect of lifting him off the floor in his net and launching him "out of the door right into the sky, with an impetus which kept me swinging backwards and forwards at a fearful rate". To-day, the largest community can muster no more than half a dozen monks, of whom two are well advanced in years.

A great transformation has indeed come about since the days of prosperity vividly depicted in an old print which hangs in the sadly dilapidated guest-chamber of the Great Meteoron. More than twenty

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

monasteries are there represented, each one inaccessible on its rock. Wayfarers seeking hospitality strive to attract the notice of monastic porters, remote and unheeding in their aerial gate-houses. Venerable bearded figures in flowing black robes dangle in nets above the abyss, or swing with grave and solemn motion upon rope-ladders; while their brethren labour unceasingly at windlasses and capstans high above the earth, and hoist provisions, firewood and travellers to their fastnesses among the rocks.

The Thebaid of Staghi to-day presents a very different picture: no more than four of the original twenty-four foundations are now inhabited. The history of the monasteries from the sixteenth century onwards is one long record of steadily declining numbers. There were interminable struggles for supremacy between the abbots of the Great Meteoron and the superiors of the hermitage of Panaghia Doupiani, who strove to retain their ancient title of 'Father of the ascetics of Staghi'. Discord rent the communities, there were disputes concerning the lands belonging to the monasteries, and before long the number of those inhabited was reduced to fourteen. The English travellers Holland and Hughes, who paid brief visits to the Meteora during the early part of the nineteenth century, found only ten remaining. During the further twenty years that elapsed before the advent of the Hon. Robert Curzon with his escort of brigands three more convents were abandoned.

As late as 1830 many of the caves which mark the perpendicular rock face were apparently inhabited: though whether by hermits or, as seems more probable, by refugees, is not entirely clear. Urquhart describes these cave-dwellings: some "like handsome houses, with regular landing-places, windows and projecting balconies", others, the smaller and meaner ones, "shut in with basket work, with a hole to enter by", and reached by curious ladders hanging like chains, some of which were drawn up when their lord and master was installed in his aerial dwelling; while those which were longer and gave access to the more elevated among the caves were pulled up fifteen or twenty feet from the ground and let down with "a strange clattering noise". All have been swept away and only the dark holes in the face of the cliff remain. By 1911 only thirty-eight monks were left, dispersed among four communities: the Great Meteoron, Aghios Barlaam, Aghios Stephanos and Aghia Trias. A monk from the Belgian monastery of Amay, who visited the Meteora in 1931, found the number of the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

175 792 [162] monks still further reduced to twenty-one. A decade of war has added a catastrophic chapter to this melancholy tale of gradual decline, for it was not possible that the monks should remain aloof from the calamities which have befallen their native land during those terrible years. The day was long since flown when the monks could look down from the security of their rocky retreats upon scenes of slaughter and pillage as armies came and went on the plain below; and, turning away with the sign of the cross and a *Kyrie eleison*, go back to their labours. The unscalable heights were impregnable no longer.

792 123 [491] I spent several days at the monasteries in January 1950, accompanied by a young theologian from the Russian Academy in Paris. Heavy falls of snow had blocked the Metsovo pass—the one road that leads north-westwards from Kalambaka across the heights of Pindos, connecting the plain of Thessaly with Ioannina and Epirus—and the cold was intense. We had slept the previous night at Trikkala, where the Metropolitan had shown us a number of charred manuscripts which had been salvaged from the monasteries. Our first concern upon reaching Kalambaka the following morning was to seek out the curate of the place, Father Christos Benda, whom we discovered wrapped in a blanket at his fireside. He was not a little startled at the sudden apparition of two Frankish visitors in the doorway of his cottage, and regarded somewhat gloomily our proposal to sleep at the monasteries for the duration of our stay, assuring us (not without reason, as we subsequently discovered), that the monks had little enough bedding to protect their own persons from the bitter winds which swept the exposed summits. He promised, nevertheless, to come with us to look for the *Igoumenos* of the Great Meteoron who was said to have descended from his airy retreat that morning in order to deal with some piece of monastic business. First, however, we were taken to see the fourteenth-century basilica with its remarkable marble *ambon*, and to visit the school, where we found classes of 150 children overflowing the one available building (which had perforce to serve as primary school in the forenoon and as high school for the rest of the day), and packed into two small chapels which had been furnished with desks. The children were delighted at the diversion caused by the appearance of the *xenoi*. Papa Christos carried us off in search of the abbot who was finally run to earth in a tavern where, monastic business satisfactorily despatched, he was disposing of a dish of vegetables.

[346] [87.1]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

THE FIRST STIRRINGS OF REVIVAL

797
175

The history of the revival begins in 1839 and for a generation centres upon the convent of Megaspelaion in the valley of Kalavryta: the greatest monastery of Old Greece. The initial impulse, however, came from elsewhere. In that year there arrived at Patras a certain Cosmas Phlamiatos: a layman who had been banished from the Ionian Protectorate on account of his reckless denunciations of Masonic propaganda. He began to travel about the Peloponnese, preaching in the towns and villages and rekindling the fires that had burned low for generations past. Before long a hermit from the vicinity of Kalavryta, Christophoros Panaghiotopoulos by name, was inspired by the example of this lay theologian to abandon his cell and to devote himself to similar apostolic labours. The biographer of Father Eusebius Matthopoulos justly observes of this hermit-evangelist that "throughout the Peloponnese tradition has preserved, even to the present day, the memory of the celebrated and most profitable activity of this unlettered but zealous missionary".

But the times were evil and neither of these two itinerant evangelists was able to resist the temptation to denounce the established régime. Their activities came to an abrupt termination: Phlamiatos died in prison in 1850 (after a renewed attack on the Masons) and the former hermit disappeared into exile, never to return. In the meantime, however, Phlamiatos had gained a further disciple in the person of a monk of Megaspelaion named Ignatius Lambropoulos, who now became the leader of the movement.

Father Ignatius, who was born in a village near Megalopolis in 1814, entered the famous monastery (then inhabited by some 200 monks) while scarcely more than a boy. He was ordained deacon at the age of twenty-five, and then priest. In 1842 he met Phlamiatos at Aigion and was greatly moved by the ardour and enthusiasm of the lay evangelist. For the next seven years Ignatius Lambropoulos laboured incessantly throughout the whole length and breadth of the Peloponnese, preaching and confessing the people. Like Phlamiatos, he also exercised a most fruitful ministry through the medium of correspondence (it is related of the lay theologian that it was his custom to divide the night into three equal portions: one for rest, one for prayer, and one for writing the hundreds of letters by means of which he kept in touch with those whom he had encountered during the course of his missionary journeys).

Unlike his fellow-evangelists, Father Ignatius never succumbed to

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

797 175 the temptation to mingle the pure milk of the Gospel with denunciation of current abuses; but, in spite of his restraint, he was imprisoned for several months at the time of Phlamiatos' arrest and was afterwards confined to his monastery. He remained at Megaspelaion for twelve years, and, despite the curtailment of his missionary journeys, continued to exercise a most effectual ministry through correspondence; while, as the fame of his holiness and wisdom went abroad, there came to the monastery a constant stream of visitors. Father Ignatius continued to preach and to hear confessions, and at last, when H.M.S. *Scylla* had borne away to Venice the unfortunate Otho and his consort, he was free once more to resume his itinerant work. The story of the last seven years of his life is a record of strenuous missionary activity amongst the towns and villages of the Peloponnese. His work received the blessing of the hierarchy, and he gathered about him a little group of disciples which included both clergy and laymen, prominent amongst them the deacon Hierotheos Metropoulos, uncle of Eusebius Matthopoulos, himself a monk of Megaspelaion and a future Archbishop of Patras. In 1866 Father Ignatius declined the offer of the bishopric of Triphylia on the plea of ill-health, and three years later he died.

The life of this zealous monk had already exercised a most potent influence throughout the Peloponnese, and through the little company of disciples that gathered about him at Megaspelaion his labours were destined to bear fruit over a far wider field than that covered by his own missionary journeys. Until the advent of Cosmas Phlamiatos there had been but little preaching in the towns and villages of Old Greece, and the labours of this lay theologian had inaugurated a new era of missionary activity.

797 794 175 The pattern of the first phase of the revival—from the arrival in the Peloponnese of Phlamiatos down to the death of Father Ignatius—bears a curious resemblance to that of the period which ensues, and which culminates in the foundation of the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zöe. Again the original stimulus is provided by a layman whose effective ministry is terminated by a clash with authority, and again a monk of Megaspelaion is left to build upon another's foundation and to consolidate his work.

*

In 1866, three years before the death of Ignatius Lambropoulos,

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

THE FIRST STIRRINGS OF REVIVAL

there came to Athens a certain Apostolos Makrakes, a lay philosopher from the Cyclades, who had studied in Constantinople and in Paris, and had already won a considerable renown through his writings against the Franks and on the true nature of the Church. Makrakes electrified the Athenians by his preaching in Omonoia Square and other public places in the city. To all who heard this Christian philosopher it was evident that a new spirit was abroad in Greece. Shortly before the death of Father Ignatius, Makrakes visited Megaspelaion and there encountered a young monk from Melissopetra named Eusebius Matthopoulos. This meeting marks the beginning of a long association between the two men which, clouded though it was by the eccentricities of the layman's later years, was to prove of incalculable importance for the Greek Church.

Father Eusebius (who, with Apostolos Makrakes, dominates the history of the revival of missionary activity for the next half-century and more) seems to have been set apart for the monastic life almost from his cradle. Despite recurrent bouts of fever (which left him with a thorn in his flesh for the remainder of a long life of strenuous activity), his uncle, Hierotheos Metropoulos, secured his admission to his own convent at the age of fourteen, and during the next few years he became the closest and most ardent disciple of Father Ignatius. It was he who took up the mantle of the great preacher and confessor at the latter's death.

Early in the 'seventies we find Eusebius Matthopoulos (now a deacon) studying the holy scriptures and the ancient philosophers and divines in the Athens schools, and already launched upon his long and most fruitful ministry as a *hierokeryx*. The year 1876 is memorable for two events: the ordination of Father Eusebius to the priesthood, and the foundation of the School of the Logos.

Hitherto the missionary revival inaugurated by the preaching of Phlamiatos had been quite unorganised. Though the monastery of Megaspelaion had afforded a base for the labours of Ignatius Lambropoulos and his fellow workers, there had been no question of any formal association or 'movement'. These itinerant preachers and confessors had but restored and extended that "pious and laudable institution" (so Dr. Covel) whereby certain monkish theologians—"Grave and Reverend Persons that had been bred up in their Monasteries to a strict and mortified life"—would be appointed by the bishops "to go to their respective Cities and Towns . . . to advise, direct and assist all

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

good People . . . for the encouraging and encreasing of their Devotion, and for the better management of their Lives and Conversations". The foundation of the School of the Logos constitutes an important landmark; it inaugurates the era of the voluntary movements and establishes the essential features of a pattern of missionary activity which has held the field until our own day, and from which the foundation of an official Home Mission marks the first radical departure.

In September, 1876, Makrakes and his associates founded the School of the Logos which combined the functions of a private *gymnasium* with those of an evening school for adults. Father Eusebius (who had been ordained priest a month before) was appointed chaplain and *pneumatikos* of this remarkable institution—he also made himself responsible for the cleaning of the school (especially, it is related, "of its vilest places", *τῶν εὐτελεστέρων τόπων αὐτῆς*: a phrase charged with sinister meaning for anyone acquainted with the lamentable decline in the standards of Hellenic plumbing since the far-off days when King Minos flourished in his Cretan palace!) The outstanding qualities of this young priest were quickly discerned by those about him, and not a few who were many years his senior in age and experience came to rely upon him as counsellor and spiritual father. It was during this period that Father Eusebius began his experiments with the small groups (*omades*) which were to become so important a feature of the brotherhood which he founded some thirty years later.

But the School of the Logos was not destined to enjoy a long career. Scarcely two years had elapsed from its foundation when Makrakes and his associates became involved in a violent controversy with the authorities, which brought their educational and spiritual work in Athens to an abrupt conclusion and scattered the leaders of the movement to remote islands and monasteries. In 1875, as the result of a scandalous transaction involving payments to certain ministers of the State, three men succeeded in obtaining the vacant bishoprics of Patras, Messenia and Kephallenia. The facts became widely known and public opinion was deeply aroused. Makrakes and certain of his fellow-workers published fiery articles denouncing this flagrant violation of the holy canons. A trial ensued; the guilty ministers were imprisoned and fined, while the three simoniacal bishops were committed to the Holy Synod, which should then, according to the canons, have proceeded to a sentence of deposition.

The Synod, however, declined to take this step. Makrakes thereupon

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

extended his attacks from the simoniacal bishops themselves to those whom he now accused of being their accomplices—the members of the Holy Synod and the Archbishop of Athens. A bitter controversy ensued. Makrakes (whose language had never been characterised by moderation) threw discretion to the winds and attacked the bishops, the prime minister, the government and the theological faculty of the university without discrimination and in the most violent terms. The Metropolitan of Athens and of all Greece he denounced as "Simon Magus: *Archegos* of the hateful-to-God heresy and Metropolitan of evil courses!" The national university was no longer the *panepistemion*, the home of all the sciences, but the *panskotisterion*, the abode of universal darkness.

The clergy who were associated with Makrakes were more restrained in their denunciations of the hierarchy. They felt bound, nevertheless, to cease to commemorate their diocesan at the divine liturgy. The Synod retaliated by publishing unfounded charges of heresy and false teaching, and warned the faithful to have nothing to do with the theologians associated with the School of the Logos. The school itself was suppressed in the autumn of 1878, though Makrakes continued to publish his journal. In February, 1879, six of the 'Makrakist' clergy (including the archimandrites Hierotheos Metropoulos and Elias Vlachopoulos, as well as Father Eusebius) were brought before the Synod and tried on charges of heresy and *kakodoxia*. Despite the accused clergy's profession of orthodoxy and the absence of any shred of evidence in support of the charges, all were found guilty and sentenced to periods of exile, ranging from eight to ten years, in isolated monasteries dispersed amongst the islands of the Aegean and Ionian seas.

Father Eusebius was sent to the monastery of Palaiokastriotissa in Corfu—a small convent inhabited by ten monks, five hours' journey from the town of Kerkyra—where, cheerfully accepting this enforced interruption of his apostolic labours amongst the Athenians, he gave himself unreservedly to prayer and self-examination, and to the study of the scriptures. It was not long before the abbot of the monastery realised that the character of the exiled priest had been grossly misrepresented by the ecclesiastical authorities, and, with the consent of the local bishop, Father Eusebius began to preach in the villages of the diocese and to confess the people. Hierotheos Metropoulos was meanwhile turning his banishment to good account by reorganising the monastery of Longovardas in the isle of Paros, where his influence has endured to the present day.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

THE WATERS OF MARAH

793 797 175 The scandal occasioned by the simoniacal bishops had not been silenced by the banishment of the 'Makrakist' clergy. On the contrary, there was a widespread feeling that a grave injustice had been committed; petitions were organised, the subject was raised again and again in parliament, and at last, after three years, the exiles were recalled and the case of the guilty prelates reopened before the Holy Synod. Father Eusebius had so endeared himself to the people of Kerkyra that they refused to let him go immediately and he continued his work of spiritual regeneration amongst them for a year longer. In 1883 the Synod suspended the simoniacs for three years, and shortly afterwards the director of the Rizareion School, the then Bishop of Platamon, was charged with the re-examination of the case of the clergy formerly associated with the School of the Logos. He reported that the accusations of heresy and *kakodoxía* were utterly without foundation, the six priests and deacons admitted their fault in ceasing to commemorate their diocesan at the liturgy, and a formal reconciliation was effected.

797 175 Makrakes, however, refused to admit that the action of the Synod of 1879 constituted not a heresy (which might be held to justify separation from the local bishop) but a crime (ἔγκλημα) which certainly did not, and continued obstinately in schism. The story of the later years of this gifted but unbalanced man makes melancholy reading. In 1879 he had founded the 'Panhellenic Society of Constantine the Great' and announced the approaching overthrow of Constantinople and the end of the 'Kingdom of the Antichrist Mohamed'. From this time onward oracles and prophetic visions occupy a prominent place in his writings. The Apocalypse and the dreams of an eccentric lawyer from Patras (much given to threatening his unbelieving fellow-townsmen with earthquakes) are pressed into service for his shrill polemics.

Father Eusebius and the other clergy who had formerly collaborated with this Christian philosopher tried hard to convince him of the folly of his ways, but without avail, and in 1884 they regretfully dissociated themselves from their old teacher. Three years later Makrakes was abandoned by most of his remaining supporters, two of whom, Constantine Dialesmas and a lawyer named Michael Galanos (who was subsequently to exercise a memorable ministry as a lay preacher in one of the churches of Athens) were responsible for the foundation of the movement known as *Anaplasis* (Regeneration) which continued the work of Makrakes while renouncing the eccentric ways into which he himself had fallen. Makrakes lived till 1905 and, despite the violence

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

797
175

of his attacks on those who had formerly been his associates, never wholly forfeited their love and affection. Father Eusebius and his fellow-workers were well aware how great was the debt that they and the whole Church owed to this unhappy man.

The ending of the controversy about the simoniacal bishops opened up a new field of activity for Father Eusebius and those associated with him. He was appointed *hierokeryx* first of Missolonghi and then of Attica (where his uncle, Hierotheos Metropoulos, collaborated with him for a time) and in 1895 the Holy Synod commissioned him to extend his field of activity to include the whole of Greece. From 1884 till 1906 Eusebius Matthopoulos gave himself wholly to the preaching of the Gospel and the ministry of the itinerant confessor, while, like his spiritual father Ignatius Lambropoulos, he shepherded and guided hundreds of Christians drawn from every walk of life by means of correspondence.

And what a ministry it was! For twenty-two years Eusebius Matthopoulos preached Christ crucified in every town of Greece: preached with a fervour and a simplicity that was wholly new. He spoke of the divine truths with the conviction of one who lived from day to day in their power. Never free from bodily ailments and often in acute pain, he gloried, like the apostle of the Gentiles, in his infirmities that the power of Christ might rest upon him.

As a confessor and spiritual father he was unsurpassed. He was one who (as Archbishop Chrysostom wrote of him) "had confronted sin in all its nakedness and virtue in its resplendent brightness, who had witnessed man's falling into evil and his resurrection, who had plumbed both the manifest motives of sin and also its hidden springs"; one who led countless men and women to God through the mystery of confession and, above all, through the potent example of a life which spoke of the beauty of holiness more eloquently than any sermon.

In 1893 Hierotheos Metropoulos was elected to the see of Patras and Eleia, and his brief but memorable episcopate has left an indelible mark upon the life of the church in those regions. The metropolis became a notable centre of spiritual energy and enlightenment. The Bishop, aided by his nephew and his old colleague, the Archimandrite Elias Vlachopoulos, and by a staff of zealous preachers and *pneumatikoi* —both priests and laymen—showed how potent could be the example of a true pastor and father in God. Father Eusebius was often at

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

797
175 Patras during these years, and when his uncle died in 1902 there was a great and widespread desire that he should succeed him. On this occasion, however, as on every other, Father Eusebius declined all offers of ecclesiastical preferment. With the example of Hierotheos Metropoulos before his eyes he was in no danger of underestimating the influence that could be exercised by a bishop who was a saint in deed as well as in name; but he shrank from the heavy burden of administrative cares which would inevitably hinder the free exercise of that ministry of preaching and reconciliation to which God had called him.

794 After the death of Hierotheos Metropoulos, Father Eusebius spent
797 a further five years in missionary journeys to every part of liberated
175 Greece, and then, in 1907, came the foundation of the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë: a society organised on monastic lines which should, if God so willed, serve as a fit instrument for the continued regeneration of the Greek Church and for the extension of the work begun nearly seventy years before by Cosmas Phlamiatos and Ignatius Lambropoulos. A small house in an Athens suburb served as the headquarters of the new brotherhood; and here Father Eusebius gathered about him a little group of young theologians consisting of two priests and two laymen.
[204] In 1911 they commenced the publication of the journal *Zoë*, which was destined before long to extend the teaching of the movement to every diocese of the newly-liberated provinces of northern Greece.

From these modest beginnings there has sprung a movement which in the course of a little more than a generation has exercised a most powerful influence upon the life of the Greek Church. Through the preaching of the Zoë brothers and the many-sided activity of the movements which have grown up under their supervision, the religious life of many a town and village has been transformed beyond all recognition since the days when Apostolos Makrakes first preached in the public places of Athens, and the youthful Eusebius Matthopoulos pondered the writings of the ancient divines and swept the classrooms and corridors of the School of the Logos.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

THE BATTLE OF THE DEPTH

I have already referred to the movement known as *Anaplasis*. This was founded as early as 1887 by two lay disciples of Apostolos Makrakes: it is to the latter that it owes its primary characteristics. Its efforts were mainly directed to resisting, by means of preaching, lectures, and the publication of apologetic and philosophical writings, the spread of materialistic notions derived from western Europe. It was from the start a predominantly lay movement widely supported by theologians, philosophers, lawyers and university professors, as well as by many merchants and business men. Its journal formerly had a wide circulation in professional and academic circles and was issued, at first weekly and then fortnightly, right down to 1941.

During the eighteen-nineties the Anaplasis movement supported ten preachers who worked in the Athens-Piraeus region and also to some extent in the provinces. The Crown Prince Constantine was an honorary president, and amongst its most active members were the lawyer, John Skaltsounes (who is looked upon in Greece as a forerunner of the *Aktines* movement), and a Minister of Justice, Nicolas Demetrakopoulos, who, though not himself a trained theologian, was one of the first persons to devote his attention seriously to Christian apologetics. The real leader of the movement, however, was the lawyer and *hierokeryx*, Michael Galanos, and its final eclipse coincided with his death in 1948.

Father Eusebius and his associates collaborated with this movement for many years as preachers and contributors to its journal. Then came the foundation of the Zoë Brotherhood and the growth of a separate movement with its own periodical, and from this time onward the older association declined. It lingered on for many years: Archbishop Chrysostom Papadopoulos gave it his vigorous support from 1922 to 1938 (his brother was for a time its director), and it was not until quite recently that it was finally swallowed up in newer movements like *Aktines*, the home mission society known as *Apostolos Paulos*, and *Eneria*.

The Anaplasis movement was admirably equipped to meet the rationalist influence at work in Athens during the latter part of the nineteenth century; it was not able to adapt itself to the needs of a changing situation—hence its decline. From this pioneer association, however, there sprang two other movements, both of which have exercised a considerable influence during recent years. Both, it is interesting to note, were founded by parish priests. One (which is now under the direction of Father Angelos Nissiotes) has developed until it is second only to Zoë amongst the unofficial movements in the scope

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

794 and importance of its activity. The other was the creation of a remarkable parish priest, Father George Makres, who was for many years in charge of the parish of St. Basil in the Piraeus. He it was who in the year 1896 first established catechetical schools (there had been earlier but unsuccessful attempts), and both in this field and in that of the formation of 'circles' or groups for the study of the Bible he was a [204] distinguished pioneer. He also edited a religious journal bearing the title of *Anamorphosis* (Transformation). After his death in 1943 his work in the Piraeus was taken up by one of his numerous spiritual sons, the then Archimandrite Damaskenos Kotzias (now raised to the episcopate).

The second of these movements was founded in 1913 by Father Mark Tsaktanes and grew up about his parish church of St. Catherine. Like Father George, in the Piraeus, this married priest led the way in the organisation of catechetical schools (some schools which still flourish in our own day are his foundations), and of circles for the study of the Bible. When he died, his brother-in-law, Father Angelos Nissiotes, the priest in charge of the parish of the Life-Giving Source in the heart of Athens, carried on and greatly extended his work. The 'Orthodox Christian Unions' and catechetical schools under Father Angelos' direction are now extremely vigorous, and out of this movement have come some of the most interesting experiments of recent years.

An admirable example of the older movements which have grown up in the provincial towns of Greece is that known as the '*Apostoliki Diakonia* of Salonica', founded in 1928 by a lay theologian with the primary object of promoting the study of the holy scriptures among adults. In addition to this side of its work it had founded by 1949 some thirty-one catechetical schools, with a total membership of nearly 3,000 boys and girls. The teachers in these schools included students and professional men. From this movement there has sprung since the end of the occupation a smaller organisation of great interest. This is [894] the 'School of Christ', the creation of the Archimandrite Timothy Papamichael. Its primary object is the training of preachers and lay evangelists. This task has been tackled with such energy that already by 1950 there were more than 120 members of the movement—mostly young men and women—at work in Salonica and the north of Greece.

This unofficial 'Apostolic Diaconate' has led the way in the creation of catechetical schools and small groups for Bible study in the northern

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

dioceses, for it was not until 1936 that the Zoë Brotherhood established a centre in Salonica. The motto of this movement (which I have quoted at the head of this chapter), provides a key to much of the most notable work that is being done in Greece to-day; 'the victory of the width'—to give a literal translation of a phrase that cannot easily be put into English—ultimately depends upon the faithfulness and energy with which 'the battle of the depth' is waged. There can, in other words, be no fruitful outward activity that does not spring from a deepened interior life. It is only as the missioner himself is truly converted, only as he himself learns to dwell in Christ and as Christ is formed in him, that he can be used as an effective instrument for the conversion of others. Apart from this all his activity is in vain:

"As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. . . . If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned."

It augurs well for the future that the strenuous missionary activity now being undertaken in almost every town and diocese of Greece is so completely grounded in prayer and the study of the scriptures, finding its centre in the divine liturgy and the sacraments. The foundations are being well laid.

The full scope of the activity of the unofficial religious movements is perhaps most conveniently described if we consider in turn the chief instruments now being employed to bring about the regeneration of the Greek people in Christ. These include preaching, the mystery of confession, the organisation of catechetical schools, youth movements and study circles, the publication of Christian literature, and, finally, liturgical reform.

Preaching has from the outset been of primary importance. Cosmas Phlamiatos, Apostolos Makrakes and Eusebius Matthopoulos all relied upon the spoken *kerygma* as their most effective instrument. The theologian—whether cleric or layman—who serves on the staff of a provincial bishop is first and foremost the *hierokeryx*, the sacred herald, whose duty it is to assist the bishop in the ministry of the word. In the course of the last two generations there has been a tremendous revival of preaching—at any rate in the towns. Every parish church in Athens and the Piraeus now has a sermon at the Sunday liturgy—normally an exposition of the Gospel which immediately precedes it—

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

361 above – these complicated arrangements worked well enough.
166 The Greek communities in the hills escaped the full rigor of
464 Turkish oppression, maintained a very considerable degree of
433 self-government, and were yet able to make a living by supplementing what they could produce in the immediate locality with what they could earn far afield.

361 Two other factors help to explain the concentration of popu-
[312] lation in the hills. One was water. Greece is a dry country in summer, and before modern well-drilling techniques were known, in many localities it was difficult or impossible to live
[164] the year around in the plains. A second factor was malaria. Until DDT came to Greece after the second world war, a very large part of the country was afflicted with chronic malaria. Hill valleys, where drainage was good, were often free of this disease when the plains were not.

361 Yet problems of water supply and the risk of malaria were
166 not enough to keep eager Greek settlers from the fat lands of
175 the plains when Turkish political control was withdrawn. On
433 the contrary, as one region after another was liberated, between 1821 and 1913, Turkish landlords and peasants left or were driven out. Land so vacated was promptly settled by Greeks, many of whom came down from hill villages, while others came from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, fleeing the wrath of Turkish
[563] armies. Only in western Thrace was the Turkish peasantry allowed to remain on the land in return for a guarantee from Turkey not to disturb the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and eastern Thrace.

361 But what would happen when the Turks had been driven
464 from the scene, and the plains had been pre-empted by Greek
166 peasant communities? Clearly, this development, however sat-
178 isfying to national sentiments, spelled growing hardship for
433 those who remained behind in the ancient hill villages. A landlord with hundreds or thousands of acres might be eager to hire

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta
[Hill Villages]

community where very early marriages have been the rule, a woman of thirty or thirty-five is already old.) Between 1952 and 1956 there were only four marriages in the village, twelve births, sixteen deaths. Under the circumstances, it seems certain that the population will decrease still further in the immediate future.

Yet even four or five families could turn out to be quite enough to repopulate the village, if the old patterns of early marriage and numerous children prevail. Indeed, the close blood relationships of all the villagers suggests that in times past the community may well have contained only a handful of families from whom hundreds (or, counting those overseas, thousands) in due course descended. Thanks to the depopulation brought by the guerrilla war, the traditional life of Kotta has become easy once again, and if the young people accept the old ways, and do not allow the glitter of urban life overseas, reflected in the letters and money orders sent back by friends and relatives, to change their outlook, then it seems fairly certain that within a decade or less the depopulation of the village will come to a halt, and rapid growth in numbers will begin once more. If so, after something like thirty or forty years Kotta will probably be back in the impossible position of 1947.

This cycle is, I believe, the key to much Balkan history. The peasant family system was adjusted, from age-old antiquity, to supply large numbers of children, most of whom died from violence or disease before attaining adulthood. With the more or less effective pacification of the countryside in the last couple of centuries, together with the elimination of some epidemic diseases and the control of others, this age-old balance was thrown out of kilter, so that the peasant population began (as early as the mid-eighteenth century) to run far ahead of the development of resources that might sustain it.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

175 669 619 In politics, the result was a series of risings against the lords of the plains, which centered in the marginal hill villages. Until 1912, the lords of the Macedonian plains were of course Turks, and Greek nationalism (like other Balkan nationalisms) was therefore able with perfect propriety to combine territorial expansion with social revolution, and pit hill against plain in the name of individual freedom and national self-determination. The first clear example of this phenomenon was the Greek War of Independence of 1821–30. The long series of revolts and irregular wars of the nineteenth century in the European dominions of the Ottoman Empire continued the process; and the guerrilla movements in Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece during (and in Greece after) the second world war were only its latest manifestations. In this most recent period, however, the lords of the plains were not Turks any longer, and were not even landlords. Instead they were fellow peasants and co-nationals. The difference was cloaked during World War II by the fact that Germans and Italians were in the plains, and to attack them served to justify the far more genuine assault upon the plains villages – from which, after all, the major food supply of the guerrilla forces had to come. Only in Greece, between 1946 and 1949, did the divergence between nationalism and social revolution become clear; and even in that instance, as pointed out above, most guerrillas felt themselves to be Greek patriots as well.

621 161 433 Kotta's wartime experience shows dramatically how such warfare brought its own solution to the problem of overpopulation – cruel, blind, bloody, but effective. Depopulation, such as Kotta suffered, certainly sufficed to solve for a generation or so the problem of too many mouths and not enough land. When the crisis passed, survivors could settle back to a more or less satisfactory life again, until their growing numbers should once more make the traditional style of life impossible within the

/11 cont./ 000
conditions under which they had to move. At the present time 464
there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other 166
villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home
again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay [425]
where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to any- [427]
one else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With
the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from
the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems
of the young men.

Kinship Groups. 602

Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and [596]
less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which [178]
has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the [621]
government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. [582]
Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is pro-
hibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different [736]
from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans [737]
or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under
sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the mem-
bers of their family.

Historical Background. 175 •
621

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the
first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in [712]
1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the
Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the
headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches
that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its im-
portance as a military post. People have come and gone. [136]
Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find
the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of
the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the
language they would tell the people of the futility of the differ-
entiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built,

175
621

/13 cont./
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious differences have done more harm to humanity than any good. Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Family. The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

121

A functional study of the family offers the best method of understanding the complex behavior patterns operative in this institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

241
594

The economic function of the families in Megali Vrisi community is very important and needs some consideration. Farming is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the time of men, women and children. The general procedure for gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to climatic conditions the type of crops that can be raised is limited and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past

249

brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to speculate about future prospects in price was tobacco. This crop unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manufacturing companies that tend to set the price as they please.

[435]
[464]

Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized /15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

243
654

/77 cont./ 353 778 776
makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the animals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear the name of the Saint. [354] [553]

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard, prosperity, and health of the family. [793] [788] [782]

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they communicate with God. 771 776 182

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship. They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon. 788 776

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations, and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this religion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after 400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power [619] 175 795

/79 cont./

of the Saints and Christ that made them often take extremely dangerous steps against their conquerors. The leaders of the churches became victims of the cruelty, but at last these very same persecuted priests started the revolt and gave freedom to the Greek people. Thus religion is a part of our nationalism, it is a part of our freedom and a part of our struggle for existence. I do not think any Christian people have undergone the test for Christianity that the Greek people did. If one goes back deep into the causes of the present Greek stubbornness in resisting the impossible and standing by their promise up to the end to help England, we will find it again in their religion.

As long as people live in the religion they have developed throughout centuries they cannot be conquered.

Faith in time of trouble. For every trouble there is a remedy and there is some source that will come to aid. Long dry seasons often lead the people to /80/ all day and night prayers to Saint Ilias for rain. When members of the family get sick, the priest offers prayer. The people strongly believe in the mercifulness and forgiveness of God. All occurrences, good or bad, come from God and He rewards and punishes people according to their deeds. Possibly for people who are not contaminated with the explanation that science gives to many phenomena, it is better for them to have blind faith and hope for the solution of their troubles.

The church. The church occupies the central part of the village and has a large yard around it. Its steeple is wooden and temporarily keeps the bells that call the people to the morning and evening church services. The bells also serve for a fire alarm as well as school time for the children. When the people left their countries they left behind livestock, furniture, and many valuable things, but they succeeded in bringing with them the ikons and the church bells. Some of the ikons date back to the 16th century. The lower parts of the ikons are worn out from the kisses received in the church. The people have great pride in their church and in the power of their ikons to perform miracles. Regardless of

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples
E16

B
342 selves in the valleys of the Danube, found both troglodyte and sur-
SL face dwellings in use among the previous inhabitants of these areas,
i.e. the Thracians, from whom Roumanians of Vlachia and Moldavia,
[342] and Albanians of the Skodra lake area took over these huts, called
bordeiu (1).

B More specially the Bulgars, who in their ancient home were living
[361] a nomad life, had no permanent houses. They lived just as the rest of
Turanian peoples, in tents they put up in places where they could
find pastures for their herds; when the pastures were exhausted, camps
were dissolved and the tents carried with the nomads.

B When, under the leadership of Asparuch, Bulgars established a
175 strong base in the Delta of the Danube and when, using this strong-
648 hold as a base, they occupied all the area between this river and the
361 Balkan mountains, only then began the Bulgars to know the ad-
G vantages of permanent installation. For a long time, however, they
175 were wild fighters and lived on the peoples they subjugated, the old
648 Thracians, who had been hellenised, or latinised, and the other Greeks
SL and Slavs who had established themselves in those areas during the
[342] previous century (2). These Slavs, according to Procopius (3) and to
B the Biography of Saint Demetrius (4), knew only how to build (5)
[727] «miserable huts» or «tents» besides the underground shelters men-
tioned above. The thousands of Greek prisoners who were kid-
napped during the Bulgarian invasions were «drafted» into the in-

---

1) According to **Fr. Nopcsa,** Albanien, 1925, p. 11 these underground dwellings of Roumania and Bulgaria represent the immediate descendants of the pre-historic and Roman housings of the Haimos peninsula. The writings on the tiles found in pre-historic dwellings have a Thracian character. Remains of Thracian tribes have been found despite the Illyric over-layer, both, in the Skodra lake and in Dardania. Dobroutcha has always been a Thracian area.

2) **D. Zakythinos,** Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Athens, 1945, p. 27 «The permanent installation of Slav tribes in the Balkan peninsula begins only during the first years of the 7th Century».

3) **Procop.** De bello Gotth. 3, 14: Οἰκοῦσι δὲ (Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄνται) ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς διεσκηνημένοι πολλῷ μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον.

4) **A. Tougard,** De l'histoire profane dans les actes grecs des bollandistes. Paris 1874, p. 184, 190.

5) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. 2, p. 98, «it is easily understood that the Slavs used to build, besides the underground shelters (abris) which were covered by an additional wooden roof, light huts without any trenches on the model of the «koliba», built by the shepherds of the Karpathians and the Balkans, made of inter-woven branches of trees».

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

G
175
648
B
175
648

vader's country (1) and they were obliged not only to cultivate the land on behalf of their owners, but also to carry out all other work and naturally to build permanent houses which were necessary, since Bulgars were to establish themselves for good in these newly conquered districts.

[361
727
463
177
341

For a long time Bulgars had either the disposition nor the sense to learning arts and crafts. Even where they had abandoned their incursions and lootings and were giving themselves to peaceful occupations, as agriculture and stock-breeding, they did not take to the arts. The palaces and the churches of Bulgaria have been built by foreigners, especially by Greeks, such as the beautiful palace of Aboba near Schumen, which is a monument of Byzantine style of the 9th or 10th century (2). But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-

---

1) The Bulgarian inroads on Greek territories for looting and capture of prisoners began in the period of Asparouch (679-701) and continued till the reign of Michael (1216-1257). King Krum, when he captured Adrianoupolis in 813, took away all her inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding areas, all amounting to 40.000, into Bulgarian territory to the North of the Danube. Another 50.000 prisoners together with other loot, were taken during the winter of the same year from Thrace (**W. Slatarski,** Geschichte der Bulgaren, I, Leipzig, 1918 p. 15-29). According to the Bulgarian historian **Ivan Sakazov** (Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929, p. 57 foll.) «Bulgaria was filled up with prisoners and cattle, which formed the Bulgarian national wealth and made their well-being possible. It was on this basis that the material civilization was formed, which Omortag, Krum's heir, bequeathed to his descendents.» Later (1206), during a battle near the Tountza river, when the Bulgarian Ioannitzis or Skyloyiannis was totally defeated by the Greeks, 20.000 prisoners together with 3.000 carts were liberated, while they were led towards Bulgaria together with a great amount of loot. See **Diog. Xanalatos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βούλγαροι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην. Α' Athens 1914 pp. 17, 22 etc. 33, 39, 40 etc. Cp. **K. Paparrigopoulos,** Ἱστορ. Ἑλλ. Ἔθνους 6th edition, tome 4, b, 186 and foll. t. 5, a 23. **K. Amandos,** Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους Α' 1939 p. 411. Β' 1947, pp 5, 173, 426. Οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1923 p. 26 and 40 **Ant. Keramopoullos** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες, Athens 1945, p. 167 and foll. **G. A. Megas,** Ἀδριανούπολις ἡ πολυχρυσεμένη in the periodical Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία t. I 1948 pp. 93 and foll.

2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 112. **C. Jirecek** says that: «Even in the best years of the Middle Ages, during the reign of Tsar Symeon, according to the evidence given by Joannis Exarchos, there were to be seen but straw-covered huts in Bulgaria, except for the palace of the king». Straw-covered huts in Bulgaria are also mentioned by Kantakouzinos, 1, 144, edit. Bonn.

B
342

According to the Bulgarian historian **I. Sakazov,** op cit. p. 41, «The very beginnings of an economic organisation in Bulgaria appeared in the court of the Tsars and with the aristocracy, who were trying to imitate the Byzan-

G
175
648
B
175
648
[463]
[177]
[341]
[342]
[171]
G
[342]
[171]
B
177
341

But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

---

tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

G
[172]
[463]
[331]

1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali,** Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη. Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.